



Association of Bay Area Governments

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DATE: January 20, 1975

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TO: Bay Area School Superintendents
Bay Area Librarians

FROM: Lizette Weiss, Director of Public Affairs

RE: "Making the System Work for You" Packet

FEB 10 1975
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Association of Bay Area Governments as part of its citizen involvement activities is sponsoring, with the Friends Committee on Legislation, a series of workshops titled "Making the System Work for You." The response to the workshops has been amazing and we have had to turn away hundreds of interested citizens.

In order to share the information developed for the workshops as widely as possible, we are sending to you a copy of the packet. We are not able to provide these in quantity, but would like to encourage you to duplicate the materials for all library branches, civics departments and the like.

You may be interested in knowing about ABAG's Citizen Alliance program which is rather innovative and unique. ABAG has allocated \$12,000 for FY 1975 for in-kind ABAG staff support to help established citizen organizations--PTA's and Friends of the Library groups would qualify--hold public meetings, conferences, workshops, conventions and seminars on planning issues of regional significance. Communication tools such as printed materials, service directories, issue papers or assistance with media presentations are also eligible.

Under Citizen Alliance citizens have explored a clear creek in the South Bay and the Committee for Green Foothills is producing a "how-to" booklet to help other Bay Area groups put on similar ecology programs. Questionnaires were mailed to 4300 citizens to determine what environmental concerns they rank highest and the need for a calendar of environmental events (ENFO and the Berkeley Ecology Center). The script is being written in English and Spanish and slides collected for a presentation on the planning process by Economic and Social Opportunities, Inc. A November conference on the economics of the housing market (Midpeninsula Citizens for Fair Housing and Committee for Corporate Responsibility) at Stanford University attracted 225 bankers, developers, conservationists and others. And, the Friends Committee on Legislation's citizen effectiveness workshops in January are a "sell-out."

Enclosure

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Thank you for attending the first workshop on 'Making the System Work for You'. We greatly appreciate your interest. As you know, the response was so overwhelming and the room space limited, that we are unable to accommodate all who asked to attend. (Because there has been wide publicity for the San Francisco Library location, we are unable to change to larger facilities.) We have had to accept reservations on a first-come, first-served basis. If you mailed your reservation but it was not received by ABAG prior to January 6, 1975 and you are interested in attending other sessions, we suggest telephoning 841-9730 on Wednesday preceding each of the other workshops to find out if space is available because of cancellations.

ABAG/CITIZEN ALLIANCE PROGRAM

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Syllabus

"MAKING THE SYSTEM WORK FOR YOU"

The intent of this series of public meetings is to keep each session as flexible as possible, within a broad outline. The workshops will attempt to focus on the specific interests and needs of the participants. There will be maximum opportunity for questions and answers, and for other forms of dialog. The primary emphasis will be on CITIZEN PARTICIPATION.

Session I (January 11) - WHY BOTHER? The System As It Is. Can You Make It Work For You?

An exploration of how to work your way through the maze of governments and governmental agencies --- local, regional, state, and federal --- with special emphasis on local governments. Where and how does the citizen fit in?

Assemblyman Willie L. Brown Jr. (San Francisco) will open the session and introduce the workshop panel: Ilene Weinreb (Mayor of Hayward), George Moscone (State Senator), and Elizabeth Stevenson (Field Representative for Congressman McCloskey). They will discuss how they see themselves as representatives of their constituents.

Session II (January 18) - BRINGING BAY AREA PROBLEMS TO SACRAMENTO: The State Legislative & Budget Processes

An examination of California state government --- the legislature, the governor and executive branch, and how a bill becomes law. How Bay Area people affect decisions made at the state level? Who are the Sacramento lobbyists on "people's issues"? What good can it do to go to Sacramento?

California State Senator Nicholas Petris (Oakland) will discuss citizen participation from the viewpoint of the legislature.

Session III (January 25) - MAKING THE MAN LISTEN: The Act Of Lobbying. Citizen Lobbyists Tell You How They Do It.

A look at the lobbyists you hear about - and those you don't hear about. The subject of money. Everything you need to know to start using your own influence.

"Cause lobbyists" who work at different levels of government will tell you how they go about it.

Session IV (February 1) - ZEROING IN ON SPECIFIC BAY AREA ISSUES

A preliminary discussion of issues which have regional implications.

Participants will then break up into small sub-groups to discuss specific issues. Resource people will be available for each sub-group in areas such as crime, transportation, housing, senior citizens, mental health, the environment, and children. Other issues will be added to meet the needs and interests of those who have attended previous sessions and have filled out the questionnaire (will be distributed). There should be time for each person to be able to attend two one-hour sub-groups.



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INFLUENCING LAWMAKERS

Outside The Smoke-Filled Rooms

There are many rumors about what goes on behind the closed doors of city halls, regional planning commissions, the Governor's office and Congressional committees. Nobody seems to know.

Worse than that--nobody knows, generally speaking, what goes on at public forums of local, regional, state, or federal governments. The problem is that very few citizens have the time or money to keep track of the laws being made--laws which eventually will govern their lives. What the citizen sees is what gets on the ballot, what the candidate for public office tells constituents about, or what the policeman tells the citizen when he or she is caught breaking the law.

Special Interests

Lobbying is something the oil companies, the insurance companies, and all large corporations have known about for a long time. They influence government policies by donating money to political campaigns; holding banquets, dinners, and informal lunches to help to get to know lawmakers; and sitting down face to face with government officials to exchange views. They also may have members of their organizations or professions who can use their influence.

Public Agency People

The State Department of Health has a staff person who acts as liaison with the state legislature and the Department. The City Parks and Recreation Department has a person keeping track of city

ordinances dealing with parks and recreation as they come before boards of supervisors or city councils. Someone in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington, D. C. has the job of making recommendations to Congress on H.E.W. programs.

The politics of the public agency lobbyists usually depends on the politics of the administration directing the agency. Sometimes, however, public agencies maintain their independence. In California, for example, the Superintendent of Public Instruction is elected by the people rather than appointed by the Governor. The result is that the Department of Education, when it lobbies, reflects the policies of the Superintendent, tempered by the policies of the Board of Education--which is appointed by the Governor.

Cause Lobbyists

Another "brand" of lobbying, less well known, and generally poorly financed, is the increasing number of cause lobbyists. The Friends Committee on Legislation (and the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington, D.C.), the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were, in the early years, lobbying for civil liberties, civil rights, peace, and against the death penalty. Slowly, over the years, groups interested in children, mental health, housing, senior citizens, and consumer problems, have joined in with full-time lobbying activities.

Without money or position, cause lobbying groups rely primarily on the power of information. It is not always easy for a lawmaker

to know what his or her constituents think--or what effect a law would have if enacted. People providing such information do the lawmakers a favor--at the same time that they make the "system" a little more human and responsive to the public.

Fewer and fewer decisions are made in smoke-filled rooms these days. The public is watching. Everyone is eligible to be a lobbyist because everyone is affected by the decisions lawmakers make. The more welfare mothers, the more aliens, laborers, consumers, or senior citizens who make their views known, the more just a society we will create. We don't know for sure that we can get good programs on the books, but we know for sure that bad programs will go through without us.

Lobbying From The District

In Your Own Back Yard

The best way to keep informed and to learn about the "system" as it operates at the local and regional level is to participate in it. Don't be bashful about going to city council meetings, or to observe in a courtroom. They are open to the public.

If you have a concern to present, but you have never taken a public speaking course and you never wrote a master's thesis on the concern you have--present it anyway. Councilmen, supervisors, board members, commissioners, even judges are people. They'll probably be relieved to hear from a citizen instead of from "experts" only.

Hints to help you: Get an agenda if there is one * Sit close enough to see name plates and to hear clearly * Be courteous--avoid clapping, hissing, or loud comments * Call ahead to make sure the meeting hasn't been cancelled or postponed at the last minute.

If you speak, be concise and to the point * Be factual without being an encyclopedia * Try to anticipate questions and be ready for them * If you have time, watch the board ahead of time to learn their style and points of view * Never insult a member of the board or committee * Don't back an opponent against the wall--leave him room to agree with you.

Lobbying State and Federal Governments From Home

Many organizations publish newsletters or offer bill-following services to help people keep track of proposed legislation (see list of legislative bulletins). For the latest status on any issues, call

the district office of your own lawmaker. They are set up to receive and answer citizen requests. VISITING: During vacations and recesses members of Congress, the U.S. Senate, the state Senate, and the state Assembly should be available in their district offices for visits. Get to know them. If you are working on particular issues with a group, invite the legislator to address the group. HINTS TO HELP YOU VISIT: Be brief * Keep your group small (not more than 5 or 6 people) or the legislator may make a speech * The group should be informed about the legislator's record on specific issues. Ask for elaboration on points which you have little information about, and for clarification of the legislator's position on others * Appoint a member of your group as a spokesperson to introduce members of the group and start the conversation * Questions should be specific. General questions, such as, "what is your stand on welfare?" permit vague and evasive answers * Try to discover areas of agreement as well as disagreement, and to explore new ideas. If you succeed, both you and the legislator will gain from the interview * Be brief!

Letterwriting

Letters do count. They are best when they are personal, well timed, and to the point. Don't send form letters, or copy the text of the letter from another source. Letters of appreciation and encouragement count too, and may be noticed more because they are rarely received. HINTS TO HELP YOU WRITE LETTERS: Write about only one subject in each letter--Be Brief * Be sure your letter is courteous and legible * If you are writing about a specific bill, give its number if you know it, or its popular name * Begin with a commendation for a vote or speech if possible. Support a courageous stand and encourage continued leadership *

Give reasons for your stand in your own words. If possible, draw on your personal experience; cite a neighborhood or local angle * Raise questions. A well-formulated question can express a viewpoint and encourage response * If you type your letter, send carbon copies to your local newspaper * If you receive a reply that indicates a legislator's position on an issue, let the organizations working on the issue know about it.

Forms of Address: Governor _____, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814

State Legislators Senator...Assemblyman, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814

The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500

Congressmen: The Honorable _____, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. 20500

Senators: The Honorable _____, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C. 20510

(See Directory of local government agencies for local addresses)

Fact Sheets

Concise, accurate information is a cause lobbyist's best weapon. A one or two page fact sheet on a particular issue helps a lawmaker in several respects: it provides background material to help him or her make the decision; it gives a basis from which to ask questions; it helps the lawmaker remember your letter or your visit because it is in writing. HINTS ON FACT SHEETS: Make sure your facts are correct * Give sources where needed * Organize the material to make it easy to read at a glance * Date all materials * Make copies for each member who will be voting on the issue * Provide a person and a phone number to contact for further information * Keep concepts and statistics simple * If the facts change, send updated materials.

Organizing at the Grass Roots Level

There is power in numbers. If you know that others share your concern on a particular issue, get together with them. Lobbying groups can be ad-hoc (that is, brought together for the duration of a specific "battle"); coalitions of existing groups; one-shot attempts at influencing a particular law (such as a march on city hall, or a day in the Capitol), as well as permanent, on-going organizations. HINTS ON ORGANIZING: Start with one or two well defined issues * Don't over-extend yourself * Don't hesitate to ask for help from groups or people with experience * Make sure you are not duplicating work that is already being done * Time your organizational efforts so that you can plunge into an issue early, but not so early you lose interest * You won't need money to start with--just time * Only hold meetings when necessary * Have patience.

Coming To Sacramento

The best way to learn about state government is to come to Sacramento and watch. Better yet, to come to Sacramento and participate. Legislators are very accessible and most state government procedures are open and informal.

Where to Start

Your first stop should be the Legislative Bill Room in Room 1129 on the ground floor of the Capitol, across from the east entrance (see map). One copy of any bill (up to 100) is available free. All legislative documents--Daily Files, Journals, Histories, the Index--are available for looking things up at the counter or for ordering.

The most useful documents for a day's visit are the Daily Files of the Senate and Assembly, each of which contains a list of bills that may come up for a vote on the floor of the house (the "Third Reading File"), a schedule of committee hearings, the bills to be taken up at each hearing, and a list of the members of each committee.

Committee Hearings

Notices of committee meetings can be found in the Daily Files and are posted also in the elevators.

Bills are not taken up in the order in which they appear in the File. They are taken up approximately in the order in which the authors have signed up or in which they show up. Also, bills are not always heard, even though scheduled. Persons coming to a hearing on a specific bill should check with the author's office to see if he expects to take it up that day.

Members of the audience generally can come and go from the hearing room at any time. Seating in a crowded room is subject to the rules set down by the committee chairman or the sergeant-at-arms.

Customarily testimony in support of a bill is taken first, followed by opposition testimony. Anyone is free to testify on any bill unless time constraints on the committee are such that the witnesses must be asked to curtail their remarks.

Often no testimony is taken in the fiscal committee (Assembly Ways and Means, and Senate Finance) because of the enormous work load of those committees. It is assumed before any bill reaches the fiscal committees that each bill received a full hearing in its policy committee (but that doesn't keep fiscal committee members from arguing policy).

Policy Committees

Each bill will be heard in a committee which hears all bills on the same subject--education, health, transportation, revenue and taxation, etc. The committee members can be expected to have a background in the issue but are always appreciative of specific factual information and reports of personal experience with the problem dealt with by the bill.

The best way to influence the committee on a specific bill is to "work the committee" in advance--that is, to talk to members of the committee, or to their staffs, before the bill is to be heard. Then they will be aware of the measure and will understand specifically why you are for it or against it. Early discussions with

committee members are particularly important if you are proposing difficult amendments to the bill.

The committee consultant prepares an analysis of each bill before the committee. Advise the consultant of your support or opposition. He or she may have some questions that you can answer-- questions which, if not answered, may find their way into the analysis.

Fiscal Committees

There is a fiscal committee in each house: the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, and the Senate Finance Committee. Each hears all bills containing appropriations or having "fiscal implications". Present at these hearings, in addition to legislators and consultants, will be a representative of the Legislative Analyst's office and a representative of the Department of Finance.

The Legislative Analyst is hired by the Legislature to analyze the Governor's proposed budget and all bills that come before the fiscal committees. The Department of Finance represents the Governor.

The fiscal committees spend weeks early each year going over the Governor's proposed budget. Bills containing appropriations or "fiscal implications" cannot be acted upon in Ways and Means or Finance until the budget has passed (on or before July 1) unless the author of a bill has obtained a letter from the Governor approving earlier action.

Watching The Floor Show

All bills must be voted on "on the floor"--that is, by the Assembly and Senate in general sessions in their chambers. Bills which are amended after they leave their house of origin must return for another floor vote of that house for "concurrence" in those amendments.

The public can watch floor debates and floor votes from the Senate and Assembly galleries. No lobbyists are allowed onto the floor and no outside testimony is taken during debate--all arguments must be presented by legislators. It is possible to provide written materials to legislators before the session, in anticipation of arguments that will be brought up during debate. Individual messages will be delivered to lawmakers by one of the sergeants-at-arms at the entrance to the chamber.

Visiting A Legislator (See also, "Lobbying From The District")

Legislators are available for visits in their Sacramento offices. It is a good idea to make an appointment in advance or at least to check that he or she will be in Sacramento the day you make your trip. However, appointments are subject to cancellation because of the press of legislative business.

Bring brief written materials on the issue you are concerned about. They will assist the legislator in remembering key points and will insure that, even if you are unable to catch him/her, the lawmaker will know you were there, what your position is and why. Try hard to hold your written material down to three pages--typewritten, double-spaced.

When you are with the legislator, be polite. Don't take more time than you need. Legislators, like other people, are not likely to be convinced by people who scold, harangue, or bore them.

Many administrative assistants are very helpful and can be relied on in most instances to convey your views to their bosses. When an issue is very technical and complex, it is often better to discuss it with staff. Then you can take the time you need to explain the facts and your reasoning. The assistant may be able to distill the necessary information for the legislator, or to help you do so.

Last Word

Don't be afraid to ask anyone for help--secretaries, elevator operators, legislative staff, on-the-scene lobbying groups (See Leaflet IV), and legislators themselves. No one expects you to know everything about state government.

(See also Leaflet IV--Introducing Your Own Bills)

Introducing Your Own Bills

Anyone can sponsor legislation as long as he or she can find a legislator who is willing to "carry" or "author" the bill. No matter who the author is, plan to do most of the work on the bill yourself.

Choosing An Author

It is best to find an author who: knows something about the subject and truly believes in what the bill does; has some pull with his colleagues; has colleagues; has not alienated the Governor so as to jeopardize the bill's chances for being signed; is not carrying too great a work load to be able to handle another bill. It helps if the author is a member of one of the committees that will hear the bill.

Co-authors can be added anytime it is being amended. Collecting co-authors may be useful to give the bill a bi-partisan flavor, to show overwhelming support for the bill, and to put legislators on record (which may assure their votes in committee and on the floor and will remind other legislators that "so-and-so is in favor of this bill.")

Working The Bill

The more work you can do on your bill the better its chances will be. Most bills are not controversial but many die because the need for them was not clearly understood. COMMITTEES: Start with the consultant to the policy committee to which the bill is assigned. Discuss the need for the bill, what you expect it to do, which groups join in supporting the bill. Try to clear up any problems the consultant may find, prior to the hearing. The consultant may also be able to alert you to opposition to the bill.

Try to visit each committee member in his/her office prior to the hearing. This will help familiarize them with the subject and give you an idea of where they stand. If it is clear that there are not enough votes to get the bill through yet, or if you find out that a legislator whose vote you need will be out of town, ask the author to postpone the hearing. This will allow time to shore up support and to work out problems in the measure that may have surfaced.

Work with the author of the bill to provide expert witnesses for the hearing. They may include people directly affected by the bill (such as mothers needing day care, seniors without transportation, people who have been "re-developed" out of their homes) professionals in the field, persons who have researched the issue, representatives of other supportive groups. ALLIES AND OPPOSITION: Let as many groups as possible know about your bill in time for them to register their support. It may be wise to sit down with lobbyists who are on-the-scene in Sacramento who have worked on similar issues.

Among the "people-oriented" groups which have maintained part-time or full-time lobbying office in Sacramento are:

American Civil Liberties Union

California Association for the Retarded

California Church Councils

California Rural Legal Assistance

Friends Committee on Legislation

Jewish Public Affairs Committee of California

League of Women Voters of California

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

National Association of Social Workers

National Organization for Women

University of California Student Lobby

Western Center on Law and Poverty

Women's Lobby Incorporated

Depending on the issue you are working on, some lobbyists for labor unions or for vocational and professional associations may be helpful to you. You can get the name, address and phone number of any registered lobbyist from Legislative Advocate Registration, Room 720, 925 L Street, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-7184. (For \$2 that office will sell you a booklet giving the information for all registered lobbyists--complete with mug shots--and the organizations or corporations they represent.)

Check with legislative liaison person for any state agencies affected by the bill. They may be aware of administrative difficulties in the bill that can be handled through amendments. Never assume that a state agency--or any other group--will be against you. ☺

Sit down with groups who have expressed opposition. Often problems can be resolved without sacrificing the main intent of the bill. If not, at least you will know what the main objections are and can prepare a response. Try not to let hostility develop between you and opposing interests; they may be on your side on another issue. (The same is true for legislators.)

Questions Of Money

About 80% of all legislation introduced goes through the fiscal committees. Even without an appropriation a bill may have "implied" expenses which must be absorbed in the state budget.

Find out who in the Legislative Analyst's office is analyzing your bill. He will be able to tell you what the estimated cost will be and whether or not the Analyst will recommend passage of the bill. Similarly, the Department of Finance will study the bill and make a recommendation. Its position will reflect directly the Governor's view in terms of fiscal priorities and budget policy.

The Governor

If you anticipate problems with the Governor's office and you are reasonably sure the bill will reach his desk, find out who in the Governor's office works on your issue. Talk to him. The author of the bill may have useful contacts inside the Governor's office. Again it may be a technical problem that can be cleared up through amendments. Remember that the Governor will take just as much credit for a bill he signs as the author does, so it is to his advantage to sign popular measures.

Last Words

Timing is important in moving bills through the legislature. Legislators are moody like everybody else and the legislative process has its rush periods and its slack periods. By all means consult other lobbyists and the author of your bill about when to push ahead. Naturally the final decision always rests with the bill's author.

Bills which require a significant amount of shifting and adjusting rarely pass the legislature the first time around. They take getting used to. There's plenty to be said for introducing bills for educational purposes. They provide a public forum for the issue and a rallying point to crystallize the key points at stake. They contribute to the evolution

of the topic, not only around the Capitol but also in the public. Media coverage and other forms of general exposure lay a foundation for future legislation. Important measures which have passed without such a foundation (e.g., the political reform measure, Prop. 9) end up causing trouble in the long run because they didn't undergo a proper seasoning process.

(See also III--Coming To Sacramento)

"The State's Biggest Lobbyist"

Executive Agencies Before the Legislature

BY BRUCE KEPPEL

Three sets of folders line the shelves of a long, narrow closet in the north end of the Office of the Governor. Some are yellow, others are blue, and the rest are plain manila folders. The yellow folders contain Assembly bills, the blue folders Senate bills, and in the plain folders are proposals from state agencies for legislation that their various departments and boards want approved for introduction by a legislator. These folders record the administration's interest in every piece of legislation introduced, and how it stands — for, against, or neutral — on each. In that sense, the closet represents the Governor's lobbying operation, which extends out through the four agencies and into the 30-odd departments and boards that they administer. The folders it contains are the legislative intelligence used by Governor Ronald Reagan's Legislative Secretary, William A. Evans, in his dealings with the Legislature. Evans' staff members, two of whom are civil servants, think of themselves as a "low-profile outfit". The profile may be low, but it is here, nonetheless, that the legislative aims of all the state's departments are coordinated so that the administration speaks to the Legislature with but one voice.

The system itself was a brainchild of the administration that preceded Reagan's, that of Governor Edmund G. Brown. It was adopted by the Reagan administration, and has been refined to the point that one can now hear the criticism that it goes beyond coordination to stifle significant dissent within the departments. Whatever the merit of this charge — and it is disputed even by some who are not close allies of Reagan — the fact is that today the Governor fields a relatively well-disciplined lobbying force (see the administration's roster of "legislative coordinators" on page 358). These "coordinators" are agency and departmental personnel who draw upon their organizations' resources, including scores of specialists and technicians, to present the administration's position before the Legislature, then follow up by "working the halls" in the time-honored lobbyist tradition to try to get the needed votes at the right place at the right time.

Contrast with the past

The criticism that such coordination stifles departmental dissent remains a possibility, it is conceded even within the Governor's Office. But it must be weighed against the contrasting situation of only a few years back, when departments were left pretty much to their own devices, under no effective political control. This situation became intolerable for Governor Brown

in his push to win legislative approval for the California Water Plan during the first years of his administration. Several departments having related but conflicting interests in the matter were prone to air those differences publicly. This was not unexpected in a project of this magnitude, of course, and such behavior had often been tolerated in the past. In this case, however, the spectacle of two departments battling toe-to-toe before a legislative committee was more than Brown was willing to accept; the administration had too much at stake to risk losing the Water Plan in this way. Such public bickering not only weakened the administration's case before the Legislature, Brown's chief aide, Frank Mesplé, recalls, but also left legislators baffled and angry. This took its toll in Brown's second term. "It was sweetness and light when we came in in 1959," Mesplé says, "but by the second term unity had frayed, and the role of Legislative Secretary in 1965 was a lot different from what it was in 1959. You tried to save what you could."

Executive branch reorganization

At that time, no institution stood between the Governor and his appointed departmental directors to work out the conservation and recreation concerns of the one department, say, against the resource concerns of the other. The experience of those first years helped to bring about a reorganization of the executive branch of state government in 1961, in which eight "super agencies" were created (later reduced to four under Reagan), to manage the departments, boards, and commissions with related interests. The agency administrators had the responsibility, according to the *1961 California Blue Book*, "to develop and report to the Governor long-range, coordinated plans and programs on legislative, budgetary, and administrative matters related to their agencies". These eight new agency administrators also constituted the first Governor's Cabinet, which was created, the *Blue Book* continues, "to assist the Governor in planning, directing, coordinating, and evaluating the operations of state departments", and Mesplé was appointed as the first Cabinet Secretary.

With the new agency organization and the cabinet that it made possible, the Governor now had the means to draw his administration — most of the executive branch of government — together under his direct control. What was missing was a plan for coordinating departmental legislative aims before they surfaced as

competing bills or conflicting testimony before legislative committees. For that, Mesplé recalls, Brown turned to the Department of Finance, which for years had monitored all legislation with fiscal implications and directed testimony on all appropriation and taxation measures. The civil servant responsible for tracking bills for the department was Gino Lera, whom Mesplé brought into the Governor's Office to help do the same job for the entire administration.

Mesplé and Lera eventually worked out an informal plan for accomplishing the goal of administrative unity, although only its initial steps could be carried out in the remaining years of the Brown administration. Thus, by 1966, all departments were required to inform the Governor's Office, via a standardized memorandum, of their views on pending legislation, and the fundamental idea was established, as Lera describes it, "that everything funnels through the Governor's Office".

It was understood from the start, however, that a number of significant sections of the executive branch of government would remain outside this system. These were the other offices filled by statewide election — Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Comptroller, the Board of Equalization, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who heads the State Department of Education. Also outside the system were the Regents of the University of California, the State College Trustees, the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, and, once it was established in 1968, the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges. A voluntary system of legislative coordination was extended to these independent offices, based upon mutual interest, but for the agencies and the departments under them, there was no choice.

Tightening control

Ronald Reagan's resounding defeat of Governor Brown in 1966 provided an opportunity for further centralizing this control as a new team of administrators took the field. The incoming planners were interested in what Mesplé and Lera had begun, and they carried Lera and attorney Robert Williams, also a civil servant, over into their regime with instructions to move ahead in implementing a system to assure executive unity. Lera compiled the procedures that had been adopted by the end of the Brown administration, refined some of them and added others. The result was the first institutionalization of an administration's lobbying in the form of a *Legislative Manual* that is now a thick binder full of mimeographed instructions detailing the steps that the agencies and the departments and boards under them must take in dealing with legislation and the Legislature, from drafting legislative proposals, to testifying before committees on pending bills and lobbying for and against measures on which the administration has taken a stand.

Structurally, the system of legislative coordination parallels the cabinet's administrative structure. Each agency secretary (as the former agency administrators are now called) has a legislative coordinator, whose actual title is usually that of assistant to the secretary. The agency's departments and boards also designate legislative coordinators, who are often assistant directors but sometimes departmental counsels or executive secretaries of boards. These are the agency coordinator's fingers into the operating elements of the administration (a painful image to some of the more inde-

pendent subordinates). All legislative proposals originating within the departments and boards now must follow this vertical structure, through departmental channels to the agency level. Most of the conflicts between departments, such as bedeviled previous administrations, are resolved at this point; those that aren't are bucked up to the Cabinet for reconciliation or arbitration. Approval from the Governor's Office is required before clearance is given to find an author to introduce the legislation.

Legislation originating outside the administration and amendments to all bills are farmed out for analysis by the Governor's Legislative Secretary to the agencies and departments. They have 20 days from a bill's introduction to return their analyses, which are written on a standardized form that is now color-coded by agency, and a recommended administration position: support, oppose, or neutral. Bill analyses, as they are received, are placed into one of the yellow or blue folders, depending on their house of origin, and these are reviewed by the Legislative Secretary's staff, which approves or disapproves the suggested positions on the basis of their compatibility with the Governor's known views. In "about 5 percent" of the cases, Lera estimates, additional meetings are required with the agencies involved to reconcile differences, and in only a handful of these must the cabinet, or the Governor personally, be involved.

Lobbying begins

Once a position to support or oppose has been taken, plans are made for pursuing the administration's legislative goal. The four agency legislative coordinators meet with Legislative Secretary Evans, his assistants, and one or two other members of the Governor's staff at least weekly during the legislative session to review pending legislation and to plan their tactics. Among other things, they must decide who is going to be called upon, through their network of departmental legislative coordinators, to testify before the legislative com-

Legislative Coordinators for the Other Constitutional Officers

Each elected state officer designates a top aide to coordinate legislative relations. This is true, too, of the Board of Equalization, whose members are elected from four districts. Those designated to work with the Legislature are listed below:

Lieutenant Governor — Because of his close relationship to the Governor and a recently trimmed staff, most of the Lieutenant Governor's legislative relations are handled through the Governor's Office.

Secretary of State — Richard L. Maullin, Deputy Secretary of State.

Attorney General — Jan E. Stevens, assistant attorney general.

Superintendent of Public Instruction (Department of Education) — Harvey K. Hunt, legislative coordinator.

Treasurer — Robert Rousek, assistant state treasurer.

Controller — Kirk West, chief deputy controller.

Equalization — Lawrence Augusta, board counsel and legislative liaison.

A Roster of the Governor's Lobbyists

The Governor's system of lobbyists is centralized in the office of his Legislative Secretary, William A. Evans, and his assistant Tim Cole. Their principal contacts are with the "legislative coordinators" designated by each agency secretary. These coordinators

meet regularly with Evans and have responsibility for seeing that administration policy is carried out by the departments and boards through the following network of departmental coordinators (grouped by agency).

AGENCIES

Business & Transportation

Agency: Larry A. Thelen, asst. to secretary, legislative and legal affairs

Resources Agency:

Norman Hill, special asst. to secretary

Health & Welfare Agency:

Barry Whittlesee, asst. to secretary, legislation

Agriculture & Services Agency:

Donna Townsend, asst. to secretary*

Aeronautics: Gerald Barber

Alcoholic Beverages Control: Kenneth Byers

Banking: James F. Carrig

Corporations: Carlyle R. Brakensiek

Highway Patrol: Capt. Lloyd E. Sellers

Housing & Urban Community Development: Wardell A. Connerly

Insurance: Leo M. Hirsch

Motor Vehicles: Leonard M. Bleier

Public Works: Emerson Rhyner, Heinz Heckeroth

Real Estate: John E. Hemple & Donald M. Tallman

Savings & Loan: Saul Perilis

Conservation: Edward N. Gladish

Fish & Game: E. C. Fullerton

Navigation & Ocean Development: Dennis Letl

Parks & Recreation: Robert Myer

Water Resources: James M. Carl

Air Resources Board: William Simmons

Colorado River Board: Harold F. Pellegrin

Reclamation Board: Alan I. Wendorff

Water Resources Control Board: Luther Gulick

Fish & Game Commission: Leslie F. Edgerton

Adult Authority: Joseph A. Spangler

Corrections: Walter L. Barkdull

Health-Care: Mary Jane Gerber (coordination) & David W. Mitchell (legislative contact)

Mental Hygiene: Barbara Calais

Public Health: Ronald W. Britting

Rehabilitation: M. O. Slater

Social Welfare: Philip J. Manriquez

Youth Authority: Arthur D. Nettles

Commission on Aging: David E. Baxter

Agriculture: Donald Weinland

Consumer Affairs: William Andrus

Fire Marshal: Donald Truhett

General Services: James Burge

Veterans Affairs: Jack Keppel

Industrial Relations: Rupert Pedrin

Commerce: Irene A. Phillips

Franchise Tax Board: Tom Muraki**

Personnel Board: Kay Sharpe**

Public Employees Retirement System: Lloyd Graybill**

Teachers' Retirement System: Michael N. Thome**

*A civil servant not involved in policy-making.

**These independent bodies cooperate voluntarily, and are placed in the agency for administrative reasons.

mittees and when the administration's position needs to be reconsidered. If the administration has taken no position on a bill, the appropriate staff members are instructed, according to the manual, to comply "promptly and fully" with requests for information. It is on this point, incidentally, that the administration leans heavily to support its contention that the free flow of information from the executive branch to the legislative has not been restricted in the quest for administration unity. In practice, however, legislative staff sometimes find that requests for factual data in politically volatile areas — social welfare is commonly mentioned — are referred for clearance at a higher level.

The new system has brought with it one unmixed blessing: the consolidation of all nonsubstantive legislation into single bills drafted directly by the Legislative Counsel as "maintenance-of-the-code" measures. These purely technical bills are excluded from the funnel running into the Governor's Office. Previously, each of scores of changes in a given code was introduced as a separate bill. The new procedure, Lera estimates, has cut the number of bills generated by the departments by about a third, to approximately 500 each session.

Lobbying techniques

As public employees, the members of the Governor's lobby do not have expense accounts with which to entertain legislators. That is, however, their only disadvantage. (And in the case of some special-funded boards and departments, this can be overcome if the

state lobbyists — those in Public Works are often cited — maintain close links with related powerful private lobbyists.)

The Governor himself enjoys the considerable advantage, in his dealings with the Legislature, of representing all the citizens of the state. This statewide constituency assures widespread coverage of what he says and does, which gives the office a direct influence on public opinion that no legislator, even a legislative leader, can hope to match. While it is hard to put a precise value on it, the Governor's role as party leader and fund-raiser also serves as a deterrent to wavering partisans. Dealing with members of the opposition is something else, of course, and the approach of a given chief executive will be dictated, in part at least, by what he needs from the Legislature in terms of program. In the case of Brown, for example, who campaigned on a platform built on new state programs, the Governor was forced to bargain frequently with legislative leaders who, in a real sense, would help determine his administration's success. Under Reagan, who campaigned in 1966 against state spending and for reform in welfare administration and governmental organization, the Governor needed less from legislators than they needed from him. An example of the effect that this difference in approach can have is provided by the letters a governor must write, until his budget bill is enacted, to justify as an emergency measure any bill involving an appropriation. Reagan, his aides es-

timate, writes "about 5 percent" of the number of such letters formerly written. This cutback reflects his relatively slight need to bargain (as opposed to his political need to cut spending); it also provides leverage for gaining passage of his budget (by including in it the sought-after appropriations the Governor can accept). Whether or not to write these letters, incidentally, is determined by the same legislative-monitoring procedure that bills normally follow.

Finally, of course, there is the Governor's veto, or, more precisely, the threat of veto, which can be valuable in obtaining a bill that the Governor will agree to sign. Of Reagan's effectiveness in wielding this ultimate lobbying weapon, no less an informed observer than his predecessor, Governor Brown, willingly declares his admiration (and concludes his own review of gubernatorial lobbying tools with the comment that "you pack a great big stick").

Mesplé, himself a lobbyist now for Sacramento County, notes that a lot of room for plain "jawboning" exists between the cruder forms of executive leverage. This can mean, for example, nothing more than using the Governor's time, inviting legislators to the mansion for breakfast or dinner, for example, as Brown commonly did, or to the office for lunch, which Reagan has been known to do. In either case, an opportunity is created for relaxed discussion of respective positions. It may also mean, Mesplé continues, that the Governor's representative in the halls — Evans, his assistant Tim Cole, or one of the approved agency or departmental lobbyists — simply convinces the lawmaker "that this is a good vote, it can't hurt you."

Legislative vulnerability?

To those who are most familiar with the legislative process, the way in which the Governor's lobby is organized simply makes good sense. "The Governor is the biggest lobbyist in the state, and these are his troops," former Assembly Speaker Jess Unruh says, with some surprise that anyone could quarrel with the chief executive's right to play the toughest possible political game. Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post tends to agree. "You've got to balance the virtues [of administrative coordination] against the practice in the old days," he says. "Certainly, it is politically desirable, since the Governor is an elected official, to make the departments responsive to his leadership. The executive is already fragmented with the other state officers, and the Governor needs fairly strong machinery if he is to have a chance to avoid the emasculation of his program." Some independent-minded department heads with friends in the Legislature and aims at variance with the administration still manage to "run around end" on occasion, he observes. Post concedes that he, too, has encountered some difficulties in obtaining data from certain administration departments, but in this he blames the individual administrator rather than the system. "Conceptually, the chief executive has the responsibility for setting policy," he says. The Assembly's Director of Research, James A. Lane, similarly does not regret the lack of public departmental feuding. "It's not the role of bureaucrats to debate public policy," he says; their job is to carry it out.

That is not to say, however, that no proposal has been made to assure a reasonably fair balance between the legislative and executive branches. One means of exerting some legislative control over state lobbyists was contained in AB 2119 (Quimby), which failed to

reach the floor of the Assembly this session. Among other things, it would have required "any person who receives \$300 or more in a calendar quarter . . . for the purpose of influencing legislation by direct communication" to register as a legislative advocate and report lobbying expenses, even if only a percentage of a state salary. State lobbyists are now specifically excluded from registering with the Joint Committee on Rules, though those for local and regional governmental entities must, along with private-interest lobbyists (see *California Journal*, August 1972).

Test of the lame duck

The real test of Governor Reagan's systematic approach to strengthening his role as lobbyist will likely come in the remaining two years of his administration (assuming he sticks to his stated intention not to run for a third term), a time when Governors historically find their relations with the Legislature deteriorating rapidly. This is true within the Governor's own office as well as among the agencies and departments that make up the administration. One close observer of the Governor's Office already notes the rise of some ranking officials "who see themselves as deputy Governors" and "legislative experts" who want to try their hand at lobbying strategy as well as policy-making; once-disciplined departments, alert to any strains at the center of operations, grow restless and revert to their old ways, pursuing their own legislative aims in what Post calls "an underground way".

Against these human foibles stands that closet with the yellow and blue folders, the symbol of the system spelled out in the *Legislative Manual* for strengthening a Governor's ability to make his mark on government. If the system can be held together through the end of Reagan's term, it will indeed be proven to be a powerful instrument. If not, if it fails the Governor when the going gets toughest, then it may simply provide more evidence that no administrative device is strong enough to deny the ambitions of those it would control. ■



Who are Sacramento's most influential lobbyists?

By CHRIS WAHLE

The prime and perhaps sole mission of Sacramento's 675 registered lobbyists is to influence the course of legislation loved or hated by their clients. But with something between five and six lobbyists for every legislator, only a select few advocates can carry a great deal of weight. Who are these kingpin lobbyists who can at times exercise even more power than individual members of the Legislature? What are the *modis operandi* of the successful advocates and what skills need they possess?

The people who can answer these questions best are the men and women whose votes are being influenced by the hordes of lobbyists — the 40 senators and 80 Assembly members. In an effort to identify the state's most important lobbyists, 20 members of the Legislature — ten Republicans and ten Democrats, eight senators and twelve assemblymen — were asked who they felt are the most influential lobbyists and why. They were also questioned about the techniques of lobbying, the advocate-legislator relationship and the general role of lobbyists in the legislative process. (Technically, "lobbying" is illegal in California — the result of a so-called reform passed after the exposure of arch-lobbyist Artie Samish 25 years ago, but "advocacy" is legal. There is no practical difference between a lobbyist and a legislative advocate, however.)

Legislators were told that they would not be quoted and that they should consider the following five classes of lobbyists in selecting the most influential:

Contract lobbyists. These advocates work for almost anyone willing to pay their fee. The best of them charge high prices, have made substantial campaign contributions over the years, and get results.

Corporation lobbyists. These advocates work for one company and represent only its interests, although they often work with other lobbyists pursuing the same goal.

Association lobbyists. These are employed by organizations representing firms, public agencies or labor groups having similar or related problems.

Public-agency lobbyists. Aside from the associations representing public agencies, numerous cities, counties and special districts maintain their own advocates in Sacramento. Many state agencies have legislative liaison officers, who need not register as advocates but who lobby nevertheless.

"Good-guy" lobbyists. These advocates represent interests seeking reforms in a variety of fields. They include the League of Women Voters, the National Organization

Survey participants

Assemblymen — Democrats John T. Knox, Jack Fenton, Carlos Bee, Leo T. McCarthy, Ken Cory and Bob Moretti (via aide Ethan Wagner); Republicans Frank Murphy, Jerry Lewis, Paul Priolo, Robert Beverly, Robert Badham and Dixon Arnett.

Senators — Republicans Dennis Carpenter, Jack Schrade, Howard Way and Fred Marler Jr.; Democrats James R. Mills, Ralph Dills, George Moscone and Nicholas Petris.

for Women, the Planning and Conservation League, the Friends Committee on Legislation and many other organizations with relatively low budgets. [See related article.]

The top 20

Here are the rankings of the top 20 lobbyists (or combinations of lobbyists) as selected by the 20 legislators interviewed:

1. **James G. Garibaldi**, various clients including the Hollywood Turf Club, the Wine and Spirits Wholesalers and the California Association of Highway Patrolmen.

2. **Richard (Bud) Carpenter**, League of California Cities, and **California Advocates, Inc.**, (Robert J. Beckus, George Steffes and Loren Smith), numerous clients including the Association of Bay Area Governments, the California Automobile Dealers Association and Knudsen Corp.

4. **Daniel J. Creedon**, several clients including the California Brewers Association, the California Funeral Directors Association and the City of Vernon, and **Dugald Gillies**, California Real Estate Association.

6. **California Retailers Association** (Les Howe and Bob Shillito), **Vern Cannon**, California Teamsters Legislative Council, and **John F. Henning**, California Labor Federation AFL-CIO.

9. **Paul R. Brown**, California Medical Association.

10. **Coleman Blease**, American Civil Liberties Union (since resigned), and **Lewis Keller**, Association of California Life Insurance Companies.

12. **Hal Broaders**, Bank of America, **Jack Crose**, several accounts, including the City of Long Beach, Teneco, Inc., and Western Developers Council, **Bill Press**, Planning and Conservation League, **California Teachers Association** (as an organization), and **University of California Student Lobby** (as an organization).

17. **Carl Holmes**, Pacific Telephone, **Jefferson**

The author, a graduate of the University of California at Davis, conducted the survey on which this article is based while a Journal intern.



Peyser, Wine Institute and Real Property Loan Brokers Association, **Richard Ratcliff**, California Bankers Association, and **Albert Shults**, ten major petroleum corporations.

Attributes of success

The findings suggest no standard formula for success in advocacy. Legislators ascribed different reasons to the success of the top 20 lobbyists. Among the techniques and assets listed were pleasant personality, salesmanship, campaign contributions, expert knowledge, entertaining ability, the political potency of the client, and personal intelligence and credibility. Many legislators preferred to talk about advocates as "informers" rather than "persuaders", but virtually all claimed that the lobbyist is vital to the legislative process and conceded that campaign contributions are at least subliminally persuasive.

Some of the legislators named lobbyists with whom they often disagree on the issues but whom they respect. Garibaldi was named by 13 of the 20 legislators; Carpenter and the Beckus group by ten; Creedon and Gillies by nine; Cannon, Henning and the Howe-Shillito team by eight; Brown by seven; Blease and Keller by six; and the rest by three or four.

Garibaldi, a former assemblyman and judge, has generally been recognized for years as the king of the Sacramento lobbyists. Legislators said his influence is derived from his personality ("he's liked by everyone"), his persuasiveness ("a classic salesperson"), his campaign contributions ("he is diplomatic with the use of money"), his close ties to veteran legislators, and his knowledgeability. One summary statement on "The Judge" or "Gari", as he is known around the Capitol: "He is an honorable gentleman and liked by everyone."

The effective advocate

Here is a composite of the reasons given for the success of the other leading lobbyists:

Bud Carpenter — experienced, highly ethical, honest, thorough, knowledgeable, "a real human being".

Beckus-Steffes-Smith — represent powerful interests, forthright, highly reliable, professional, good entertainers, classy and balanced.

Danny Creedon — establishes and maintains social contacts, makes big campaign donations. (Creedon, like Garibaldi, is a former assemblyman.)

Doug Gillies — articulate, honest, reliable, knows his subject well. (He is a former Senate committee consultant.)

Howe and Shillito — excellent credibility, knowledgeable in taxes, quiet and friendly (Howe); persuasive in Assembly, represents a powerful interest, campaign contributions (Shillito).

Vern Cannon — a sophisticated pro, "not all over you, doesn't go to the well too often."

John Henning — straightforward, represents a large number of Californians in unions, campaign contributions.

Paul Brown — personality, friendship, clear communication, "trustworthy even though I don't often agree with him."

Cole Blease — expert in criminal law, "has the Criminal Justice Committee locked up," intelligent, good tactician. (Blease recently left the ACLU in a dispute over rape-law revision.)

Lew Keller — represents powerful interests, big campaign contributions, articulate, "means business," concentrates on key individuals.

Aside from Blease, the only "good-guy" lobbyist to make the top 20 is Bill Press of the Planning and Conservation League. He was described as a responsible conservationist who knows his subject thoroughly and who can "disagree agreeably". Not many years ago, oil advocate Al Shults would have been near the top of the list, but the conservation movement, the energy crisis and, most of all, the departure from the Senate of many of his close friends have resulted in a significant drop in influence. In the days when Democrats Hugh Burns and George Miller Jr. ran the Senate, Shults and Garibaldi were probably far and away the most powerful members of the so-called Third House. In those days, Gillies was the consultant to the old Senate Governmental Efficiency Committee, which made it a habit of killing all bills unfavorable to the clients of Garibaldi, Shults and associates.

Mother's milk

The survey indicated that a lobbyist can have a significant impact without making large campaign contributions but that money surely helps. None of the legislators interviewed admitted being influenced *solely* by money, but nearly all said that money had some effect on decision-making. Said one: "Money can't help but affect decisions." Another said that it wouldn't change opinions but would buy a legislator's ear. Most contributions come from people of the same political philosophy as the legislator, this lawmaker added. A third legislator put it this way: "Money, together with expertise, helps to develop a friendly relationship."

But some legislators emphasized that friendship is more important than campaign contributions: "Social contacts are more influential than donations. Legislators respond to their personal friends." Said another: "It is more difficult to vote against personal friends. I'll do a favor for a friend, especially if I agree with the bill or if I don't care." This last comment emphasizes one technique of successful lobbyists: They don't waste time on lawmakers who are philosophically opposed to their views, but solidify those who generally agree with them and concentrate on legislators without strong convictions on the bill at issue.

Repeatedly, legislators remarked about Garibaldi's

personality. Some legislators considered a pleasant personality to be the most important element of success. "The successful lobbyist has personality," said one legislator. "He has many personal acquaintances in the Legislature and years of experience as a lobbyist. Essential and true of the best lobbyists is that they are honorable gentlemen and liked by everyone." It was clear that he was using Garibaldi as his model.

Veteran legislators report that the relationship between the Third House and lawmakers has changed markedly since the advent of the nearly full-time Legislature with enactment of Proposition 1A in 1966. Until that time, few lawmakers or lobbyists moved their families to Sacramento. There was plenty of time to play then, and the lobbyists furnished the funds or whatever else was needed to provide a good time. But the increase in salary

in 1966 (from \$6,000 a year to \$16,000 at that time) upgraded the professions of legislator and advocate. Families moved to Sacramento. Legislators and lobbyists no longer automatically meet at downtown watering places after the day's work, and some legislators won't even accept evening social invitations if spouses are not included.

In short, entertainment isn't nearly as important as it was only eight years ago. The lobbyist of 1974 can be a teetotaler who goes home to the wife and kids at 6 p.m. and still be mighty successful. Wining and dining still plays a role in the lobbyist's arsenal, but it doesn't get nearly so many votes as personality, reliable information, knowledgeability, persuasiveness and an ability to help incumbents win reelection through large campaign contributions.



California NEWSBRIEFS

Court cancels special election to fill Burton's Assembly seat San Francisco Superior Court ruled last month that holding a special election in the 20th Assembly district "would be a futile act and would constitute a waste of public funds." The district would be eliminated under reapportionment 24 days after the special election Governor Reagan — as state law requires — called for October 8th. It was formerly represented by John L. Burton, who won an election in June to fill the congressional vacancy caused by Representative William S. Mailliard's resignation.

BART gets go-ahead to start transbay service The Bay Area Rapid Transit District won the approval of the California Public Utilities Commission August 16th to begin rail service linking San Francisco and the East Bay September 16th. BART had staged a full-scale trial two weeks earlier to demonstrate that safety deficiencies had been remedied. Despite some snafus of the sort that have marked BART's initial operation, the PUC concluded that the district now "can provide a safe method of operation for transbay and total system service."

Artificial food colors and flavors blamed for some hyperactivity An experiment run in the Santa Cruz City School District for the state Department of Education concludes that hyperactivity in children can be reduced significantly by dropping artificial food coloring and flavors from their diets. The study, conducted last April and May, found that 16 of the 25 hyperactive children monitored showed definite behavioral improvement when their intake of artificial food additives was cut. (Seven kids went off the diet.) These changes included "improved relationships with parents, teachers, peers and siblings, improved personal behavior . . . , and improved learning behavior, such as increased ability to concentrate and develop new interests and skills."

The large consumption among Americans of artificial food additives has come under growing criticism on a national level. In California, a study by the California Association for the Neurologically Handicapped estimated that "incidence of hyperkinesis has risen from 2 percent to an average of 20-to-25 percent and, in some cases, affects 40 percent of a school population."

State research builds 'laser fence' as tool in fighting burglary

The California Crime Technological Research Foundation has developed an invisible wall of energy that can detect human intruders and set off sirens, illuminate the area or otherwise alert security personnel. The device was tested by a Sacramento construction company, which used a prototype to detect and prevent break-ins on a sprawling construction site at the old State Fairground. The state corrections system reportedly is experimenting with the "laser fence".

The foundation was created by the Legislature in 1967 to do research and development in areas of science and technology not already being explored by other agencies or private industry. The state, as patent-holder, can issue licenses to prospective manufacturers for commercial production of the device.

'Total compensation' provides a new measure of state workers' pay Workers for the State of California are being gradually placed under a payment concept known as "total equivalent compensation" — a concept that clearly identifies so-called fringe benefits as part of an employee's remuneration. It is also thought to provide a more equitable measure of state pay with prevailing wages for similar work in the private sector.

The concept emerged from a study done last year by Wyatt Actuaries, Inc., and Cresap, McCormick and Paget, Inc. [See: "Study finds state civil service needs overhaul," CJ, June 1973, p. 209.] The new payment system, which was authorized by the Legislature, sets forth a number of guidelines, among them:

- Prevailing benefits earned in the private sector indicate possible desirable benefits, "rather than plans to be exactly duplicated," in recognition of "the particular conditions of state service."
- Salary establishes an employee's standard of living; benefits maintain that standard.
- Benefits are aimed at the career employee who will serve 25-30 years and retire at age 60 (or 55 in the case of safety personnel).
- Maximum retirement allowance should be 75 percent of the highest consecutive three-year average gross pay, as adjusted by changes in the Consumer Price Index.

The brown-bag bunch

A black hat has been affixed to a sign outside Posey's Cottage, a restaurant that occupies a corner one block from the Capitol. "Home of the Derby Club" the sign proclaims — referring to the assemblage of special-interest lobbyists and lawmakers who drink and lunch together most Tuesdays in a private room behind the restaurant. There's no corresponding white hat outside Westminster Presbyterian Church, a few blocks from Posey's Cottage, to indicate that the Good Guys lunch here. But on Wednesdays, brown bags in hand, representatives from some 35 people-interest groups (see box) meet here to share information and swap political intelligence.

The existence of the Derby Club — and there is nothing necessarily sinister in lawmakers and lobbyists lunching together — helps explain the existence of the Good-Guy Club. Its members know that they are outclassed when it comes to money and realize that their currency is up-to-date, accurate information on legislation of interest to them and the groups they represent.

The good guys include such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union, Legislative Birdwatchers, League of Women Voters and the Housing Action Committee. Most struggle along with a paid staff of two or three, but their causes — education, children, poverty, women's rights — tend to attract students and others willing to work as volunteers, as well as a strikingly high proportion of women — 75 percent, as contrasted to the six percent or so of the 675 registered legislative advocates who are female. The absence of money may explain the dearth of men in the Good Guy workforce. "There's no money in working for welfare, health, children, or women's rights," explained one female member.

Andrea Throne of the Western Center on Law and Poverty, a federally funded agency offering legal aid to the urban poor, believes that the people-oriented lobbyists fill a void in the political process. "People's lobbies represent much of the public who don't have their own private-interest lobby to represent them," she said. "People ought to have the same access as those who can afford to pay for private-interest lobbies."

The Good Guys seem agreed that their weekly lunches are now basic to their lobbying efforts — but not because they can find allies here (they rarely do). "The weapon is information," said Laura Magnani of the Friends Committee on Legislation, "so you get together and share weapons." The "weapons" traded at a typical Wednesday session include advice on sources of reliable information on various fields, a likely effective author for a legislative proposal, and which lawmakers can and cannot be counted on to vote the way they promise. The lunches, the members agree, help get information and keep it current — an important weapon in the Capitol, where a premium is placed on getting accurate information. As one Good Guy put it: "You can't learn the ins-and-outs of the Capitol from books. You have to learn from those who did it before you."

Shelley Wood, a graduate of the University of California at Davis, researched this article while serving as a Journal intern.



The 'good guys' roster

Association of American University Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Legislative Birdwatchers, California Association for the Retarded, California Church Council, California Consumer Federation, California Children's Lobby, California Association of Rehabilitation, California Food Service Workers, California Nutrition Action Committee, California Rural Legal Assistance, and California Human Services Organization.

University of California Food Advocates, Friends Committee on Legislation, Housing Action Committee, Jewish Public Affairs Committee of California, Liaison Committee for Child Care Centers in Higher Education, Legislative Information Service, League of Women Voters of California, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Association of Social Workers, National Organization for Women, and National Senior Citizens Law Center.

On the Capitol Doorstep, Parent-Teachers Association of California, Public Education Research Committee of California, Planning and Conservation League, Student Political Information Service, United Way of California, University of California Student Lobby, Western Center on Law and Poverty, Young Women's Christian Association, Zero Population Growth, and Women's Lobby.

The Good Guys got a potentially important boost in their quest for equalizing access to lawmakers with passage last June of Proposition 9, the political reform initiative. It will put lobbying operations under more stringent supervision and sharply limit how much money an advocate may spend on the people he or she is trying to influence. But the provisions of Proposition 9 do not become effective until 1975, so meanwhile the Good Guys are still trying to stretch a buck.

Although people like Emma Gunterman of the National Senior Citizens Law Center don't feel that wining and dining is necessary because "most people in the Legislature are interested in people and helping them", the aspiring advocate must at least become known to those whom he or she wishes to influence. Last year, the Goody Guys invited legislators to a brown-bag lunch. And the University of California Student Lobby tried to bridge the gap between the so-called Third House and the two legislative houses by holding spaghetti dinners for lawmakers at the apartments of various student interns.

"You try to do the best you can," concluded another of the Good Guys. And that means dealing in facts, delivering them with persuasiveness, and building a reputation of reliability among the decision-makers in government. Information, the Good Guys have to believe, is as much the "mother's milk of politics" as money.

HELPFUL BULLETINS ON STATE LEGISLATION

This list was compiled in response to the question frequently asked: "How do we find out what is happening in Sacramento?" Listed are sources of legislative information from people-oriented organizations that can provide clear, accurate, timely material upon which legislative action can be based.

The representatives of organizations working solely on broad human issues make up a small group in Sacramento. They are as interested in alerting you to the need for action as you are interested in being alerted. They need your support and your action in the legislative districts.

An asterisk (*) indicates a source for further information on how to work for (or against) legislation in Sacramento. Send a stamped self-addressed envelope with your request.

GENERAL

*Friends Committee on Legislation

Lobbyists: Laura Magnani
Joe Gunterman
1107 Ninth St. Room 1037
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 443-3734
(415) 752-7887 (San Francisco)
(213) 793-7213 (Pasadena)

The FCL publishes a monthly newsletter (\$6; students and seniors, \$3) and as needed, special action bulletins. Ask to be put on the action bulletin list in your field of interest: penal reform, child nutrition, farm labor, equal rights and peace. For a copy of the FCL roster of legislators and their committee assignments, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

California Church Councils

Lobbyist: Rev. Glen Holman
1300 "N" Street
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 442-5447

The legislative office of the northern and southern Councils of Churches publishes a bulletin "The Alert" (\$4/year) weekly while the legislature is in session. It covers a slightly wider range of issues than is covered by the FCL and is a good supplement to a monthly report on legislation.

*League of Women Voters

Lobbyist: Margaret Herman
1107 Ninth St. Room 1031
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 442-7215

The League's "In the Capitol Corridors" (\$3 a year) appears monthly while the legislature is meeting. It covers several areas, including environment, representative government, human resources, voting rights, education. Send subscriptions to LWV of California, 126 Post St. (Rm. 512) San Francisco 94108.

"California Journal"

Editor: Ed Salzman
1617 Tenth Street
Sacramento, California 95814

An objective, independent magazine of information about developments in California state government, including discussions of issues, persons, votes. Great for those with a serious, long-range interest in state government. Subscriptions: Individuals, \$15; corporations and associations, \$50; libraries and government agencies, \$30.

CHILDREN

Calif. Assn. for the Retarded

Lobbyist: Margaret Fraser
1225 Eighth St. Room 312
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 441-3322

"Mental Retardation" is published bi-weekly during the legislative session with action alerts as needed. It includes information on legislation affecting the retarded, including education, welfare, social services, institutions and licensing.

"On the Capitol Doorstep"

Editors: Barbara Bicker
Patricia Dorman
1107 Ninth St. Room 1026
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 442-5431

An independent bulletin concerning the young child. It is published bi-weekly during the legislative session with additional issues as needed. Contains information in the fields of education, foster homes, group homes, mentally retarded, day care, and other areas specifically related to child welfare. (\$15 per year).

Assn. of Calif. School Administrators

Lobbyist: Gordon Winton
926 "J" Street
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 444-3216

ACSA's legislative letter, "SELL" (\$30 per year) comes out weekly. It provides accurate information--and interesting comment -- on the most important legislation affecting public education K-12.

CONSUMERS

"ETC"

Editor: Barbara Erickson
7373 Willow Lake Way
Sacramento, California 95831
(916) 428-4978

"ETC" (\$3 per year, \$5 students) reports on consumer issues raised by legislation and government regulations. It provides voting record and action alerts on a variety of consumer concerns.

ENVIRONMENT

Planning and Conservation League

1225 Eighth Street, Suite 310
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 444-8726

The PCL publishes "California Today" (\$15 per year), which includes a monthly discussion of

environmental issues in Sacramento, plus "legislative alerts" as required during the legislative session.

HUNGER

California Nutrition Action Committee. Director: Dan Fleming
1107 Ninth St., Room 1026
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 443-7846

The monthly "Crumb Chronicle" (\$5 per year) reports on state and federal legislative and other actions concerning hunger and malnutrition, also on activities in local communities.

SENIOR CITIZENS

*Senior Citizens Project
California Rural Legal Assistance
Lobbyist: Emma Gunterman
1900 "K" Street
Sacramento, California 95814

"Seniors in Sacramento" deals with legislation affecting senior citizens, focusing on problems of the low-income elderly: e.g., income, health, housing. (\$6 per year; free to any group whose members and staff are at or below poverty level).

WELFARE

National Association of Social Workers, Greater Calif. Chapter

The NASW - Greater Calif. Chapter newspaper, a printed monthly, includes bill tracking of health, mental health, welfare, and social services legislation. Subscription: \$10 agencies and organizations; \$7.50, individuals; \$5 NASW members in other chapters.

WOMEN

National Organization for Women
Lobbyist: Geri Sherwood
925 "L" Street, Room 265
Sacramento, California 95814

NOW's "Capitol Alert" (\$6 per year) reports bi-weekly during the session and monthly thereafter on legislation pertaining to women's issues: e.g. education, employment, children's centers, discrimination, women's rights.

Original list compiled by Senior Citizens' Project of the California Rural Legal Assistance. Revised by Friends Committee on Legislation December 1974.

CALIFORNIA
ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES

1/75

AGRICULTURE (13) Thurman (Chairman), Suitt (Vice Chairman), Chappie, Chimbole, Duffy, Egeland, Garamendi, McVittie, Mobley, Montoya, Nimmo, Perino, Vicencia.

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SENATE COMMITTEES

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"SENIORS IN SACRAMENTO" - SENATE COMMITTEES continued

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TRANSPORTATION (9) Collier (Chairman), Garcia (Vice Chairman), Alquist, Holmdahl, Kennick, Marks, Mills, Schrade, Whetmore.

The following Assembly and Senate committees decide on many bills of importance to senior citizens: (They meet on the days listed.)

Monday

Assembly Human Resources (includes welfare legislation)	10:30 a.m.	Rm. 2117*
Senate Finance (appropriation committee)	1:30 p.m.	Rm. 5007

Tuesday

Assembly Ways & Means (appropriation committee)	9:00 a.m.	Rm. 4202
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Wednesday

Assembly Health	9:00 a.m.	Rm. 2133
Assembly Revenue & Taxation	9:00 a.m.	Rm. 2170
Senate Health & Welfare	1:30 p.m.	Rm. 3191
Senate Revenue & Taxation	1:30 p.m.	Rm. 5007

The above schedule may be changed, so do not come to the Capitol for a committee meeting without checking first. Your own legislator and this office can help you with scheduled committee meetings, bills, and other general information.

Single copies of this information, and a list of California legislators with full names and district numbers, are available from SENIOR CITIZENS PROGRAM of CALIFORNIA RURAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE, 1900 "K" St., Suite 203, Sacramento 95814. Also available: "HOW TO WORK ON LEGISLATION" in English and Spanish. The CRLA SENIOR CITIZENS PROGRAM publishes "SENIORS IN SACRAMENTO", which reports on state legislation affecting the elderly poor. Subscription is \$6; free to Legal Service attorneys. Make checks payable to SENIOR CITIZENS PROGRAM of CRLA, address above.

This office has available fact sheets for senior citizens and those working with senior citizens:

"WHAT IS SSI?" in English, Spanish, Ilacano, Chinese and Japanese

"MEDI-CAL/MEDICARE" in English and Spanish

"TAX RELIEF FOR SENIOR HOMEOWNERS AND RENTERS" in English and Spanish

LIST OF LEGAL SERVICES OFFICES IN CALIFORNIA

Single copies of all material are available upon request; permission to reproduce is granted; all can be ordered in bulk from this office, at cost to us (\$3.50/100, including postage).

*Meets 2nd and 4th week of month as called at time indicated.

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506. The opinions expressed herein are those of the Sacramento Office of the CRLA Senior Citizens Program staff and should not be construed as representing the opinion or policy of any agency of the United States Government.

Dist.	Name & District Office	Dist.	Name & District Office
55	Richard Alatorre, Los Angeles	2	Barry Keene, Eureka
41	Mike D. Antonovich, Glendale	39	Jim Keyser, San Fernando
20	Dixon Arnett, Redwood City	11	John T. Knox, Richmond
74	Robert E. Badham, Newport Beach	62	Bill Lancaster, Covina
40	Tom Bane, Van Nuys	42	Frank Lanterman, Pasadena
53	Paul Bannai, Gardena	67	Jerry Lewis, Redlands
15	Vacancy	14	Bill Lockyer, San Leandro
43	Howard L. Berman, Sherman Oaks	36	Ken MacDonald, Ventura
51	Robt. G. Beverly, Redondo Beach	30	Kenneth Maddy, Fresno
10	Daniel E. Boatwright, Concord	25	Alister McAlister, San Jose
69	John V. Briggs, Fullerton	18	Leo T. McCarthy, S. F.
17	Willie L. Brown, Jr., S. F.	63	Robert McLennan, Downey
73	Robt. H. Burke, Huntington Beach	65	Bill McVittie, Ontario
21	Victor Calvo, Mountain View	12	Ken Meade, Oakland
64	William Campbell, Whittier	13	John J. Miller, Emeryville
71	Paul B. Carpenter, Garden Grove	31	Ernest N. Mobley, Fresno
79	Peter R. Chacon, San Diego	60	Joseph B. Montoya, La Puente
3	Eugene A. Chappie, Yuba City	28	Frank Murphy, Jr., Monterey
58	Fred W. Chel, Long Beach	70	Bruce Nestande, Orange
34	Larry Chimbole, Lancaster	29	Robert P. Nimmo, San Luis Obispo
37	Robert C. Cline, Northridge	19	Louis J. Papan, Daly City
61	John L. E. Collier, Arcadia	26	Carmen Perino, Stockton
76	William A. Craven, Vista	38	Paul Priolo, Woodland Hills
57	Mike Cullen, Long Beach	48	Leon Ralph, Los Angeles
1	Pauline L. Davis, Portola	72	Richard Robinson, Santa Ana
80	Wadie P. Deddeh, Chula Vista	45	Herschel Rosenthal, Los Angeles
49	Julian C. Dixon, Los Angeles	8	Alfred C. Siegler, Santa Rosa
32	Gordon W. Duffy, Hanford	44	Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
24	Leona H. Egeland, San Jose	75	Tom Suitt, Palm Springs
59	Jack R. Fenton, Montebello	52	Vincent Thomas, San Pedro
16	John Francis Foran, S. F.	33	William M. Thomas, Bakersfield
7	John R. Garamendi, Lodi	27	John E. Thurman, Jr., Modesto
66	Terry Goggin, San Bernardino	56	Art Torres, Monterey Park
47	Bill Greene, Los Angeles	50	Curtis R. Tucker, Inglewood
6	Leroy F. Greene, Carmichael	23	John Vasconcellos, San Jose
5	Eugene T. Gualco, Sacramento	54	Frank Vicencia, Paramount
35	Gary K. Hart, Santa Barbara	46	Charles Warren, Los Angeles
22	Richard D. Hayden, Cupertino	77	Bob Wilson, San Diego
68	Walter M. Ingalls, Riverside	9	Michael Wornum, Corte Madera
78	Lawrence Kapiloff, San Diego	4	Edwin L. Z'berg, Sacramento

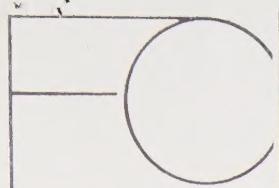
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13	Alfred E. Alquist, San Jose	6	George R. Moscone, S. F.
32	Ruben S. Ayala, San Bernardino	7	John A. Nejedly, Walnut Creek
2	Peter H. Behr, San Rafael	11	Nicholas C. Petris, Oakland
22	Anthony Beilenson, Los Angeles	34	Robt. B. Presley, Riverside
3	Clare Berryhill, Modesto	18	Omer L. Rains, Santa Barbara
36	Dennis E. Carpenter, Newport Beach	19	H. L. Richardson, Arcadia
1	Randolph Collier, Sacramento	20	Alan Robbins, N. Hollywood
23	Lou Cusanovich, Woodland Hills	27	David A. Roberti, Hollywood
37	George Deukmejian, Long Beach	5	Albert S. Rodda, Sacramento
28	Ralph C. Dills, Gardena	21	Newton R. Russell, Glendale
4	John F. Dunlap, Napa	39	Jack Schrade, San Diego
29	Vacancy	12	Jerry Smith, San Jose
24	Alex P. Garcia, Los Angeles	26	Alfred H. Song, Monterey Park
10	Arlen F. Gregorio, Menlo Park	25	Robt. S. Stevens, Los Angeles
17	Donald L. Grunsky, Watsonville	16	Walter W. Stiern, Bakersfield
30	Nate Holden, Los Angeles	38	John Stull, Escondido
8	John W. Holmdahl, Oakland	15	Howard Way, Exeter
33	Joseph M. Kennick, Long Beach	31	James Q. Wedworth, Inglewood
9	Milton Marks, San Francisco	35	James E. Whetmore, Anaheim
40	James R. Mills, Chula Vista	14	George N. Zenovich, Fresno

A list of committee members is available on request. The fate of most bills is decided in committee. "HOW TO WORK ON LEGISLATION", in English and Spanish, can be ordered from this office.

Also available from this office are fact sheets: "MEDI-CAL/MEDICARE" in English and Spanish; "WHAT IS SSI?" in English and five other languages; "TAX RELIEF FOR SENIOR HOMEOWNERS AND RENTERS" in English and Spanish; list of legal services in California. These may be ordered in bulk at \$3.50/100, including postage; permission to reproduce is granted.

We also publish "SENIORS IN SACRAMENTO", which reports on state legislation affecting the elderly poor. Subscription is \$6; free to legal service attorneys.



FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF CALIFORNIA

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Your organization (if any): _____

If you are an officer of your organization, what is your title: _____

If you represent a public agency, which agency & what is your position: _____

An interest in which specific issues brought you to this workshop: _____

What is the most important, specific question to which you hope to get an answer at these workshops: _____

Other comments or questions you have for us:
(Use other side of this sheet if you need more writing space.)

Your name and address (if you care to give them):

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